HUMAN EVENTS

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News Section

Printed in Two Sections

"The Last Hurrah": How can you win a campaign by starting it with an anticlimax? — so runs the complaint of Republican pros in the aftermath of the San Francisco Convention. They refer, rather bitterly, to the "high-level" speech of Vice President Nixon, coming after his victory over Stassen elements in the party. Nixon was miscast (by what anonymous speech writer it is not exactly known) to adorn his laurels with what most of the professional observers found an intensely disappointing speech.

As the pros hash over the last day of the convention, many concede that Dick Nixon, by vanquishing the open and covert opposition to his re-election, emerged as a somewhat more brilliant figure in the convention scene than even Mr. Eisenhower.

(A HUMAN EVENTS staffer in the Cow Palace last week listened, somewhat astounded, as the wife of a governor of a western state, herself a delegate, said that among her group of delegates most of them preferred Nixon to the President.)

At any rate, those who know something about the art of shaping a Presidential campaign strongly rebel against the "new Nixon" policy, the phase announced at the end of the convention and — so far as can be discerned — still in force. They cite some strong reasons, born of experience with the grass roots and urban precinct levels, for eliminating the "new Nixon" and sending the "old Nixon" all out into the fray.

(1) The Vice President in 1952 imparted to that campaign the polemics necessary to push over a team which had difficulty in getting going. Thus, HUMAN EVENTS, in its news section of September 10, 1952, said: "In the past few days, Nixon has shown some outspokenness hitherto absent in the GOP campaign." This referred to a Nixon attack on Stevenson for the latter's "soft on Communism" attitude.

(2) Without Nixon, what fighters have we got? is a question bothering the pros. Senator McCarthy has been ill with a really disabling leg ailment which renders his participation in the campaign problematical. Senator Jenner, often relied upon to fill the role of a battler, is not running for re-election this year and, confident that his hand-picked candidate for the Indiana governorship stands to win easily over weak Democratic opposition, plans to spend most of October in Hawaii. Senator Bricker of Ohio will be available, but his position is weakened by the fact that the amendment to harness treaty law, for which he is justly famous and popular, foundered in Congress due to White House opposition.

(3) GOP politicos' worry increases as they recall the classic example of a "high-level" policy — the crushing defeat of Dewey in 1948. The newspaper files of that year are replete with such items as the following: "The nominee's (Dewey's) advisers on the train . . . have urged Dewey to stick to the so-called 'high level' keynoted when Dewey opened his campaign with a plea for unity in Des Moines" (*Des Moines Register*, October 18, 1948). As James L. Wick, in his book *How Not To Run For President* (Vantage, 1952), put it: "Noble and lofty words were constantly repeated at way station after way station, while Truman was ripping savagely into everything Republican. 'Faith, Hope and Dewey' was the way one newsman described the Dewey theme."

The Keef: Republican tacticians believe that the forthcoming smear-Nixon campaign will give them an excuse to expose the facts about Adlai's second-spot man, Kefauver — who is really vulnerable.

The Tennessee Senator's willingness to truckle to pressure groups is, of course, old stuff. He promised farmers rigid supports of 90 and 100 per cent of "parity." He encouraged Negroes to believe he would support their "short of bayo-

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nets" program to cut off all Federal aid to segregationist states. He promised Zionists all-out support of Israel. He gave signed blank checks to the union bosses. Less well known — and therefore more to be featured — is his consistent pressure towards anti-anti-Communism (he voted against appropriations for the House Un-American Activities Committee) and centralization of power.

However, besides the run-of-the-mill programs for Bigger and Bigger Government, Estes has several items strictly his own. He suggested in Baseball Magazine in 1951 that major league baseball, no less, should be put under the control of the Federal Government. Congress should "establish by legislation a baseball commission to govern the basic structure of the sport and the powers of the high commissioner." After his Crime Hippodrome went out of business, he pressed for Federal legislation in the field of juvenile delinquency. The states and municipalities, being close to the people, are inefficient and ineffective.

But, even the Federal Government, however much it may grow, is not Big Enough. The Tennesseean would have America surrender its sovereignty to a transatlantic super-state. A Kefauver resolution presented to the Senate July 26, 1949, and co-sponsored by seventeen other Senators, urged President Truman to invite the six other nations (Canada, Britain, France and the Benelux countries of Holland, Belgium and Luxemburg) sponsoring the Atlantic Pact military alliance to a "Federal convention" with the United States. Purpose was to be to set up a "free Federal union," in which the seven nations were to be member states, like the various states in our own country. This union would have had a constitution, modelled on our own, and a central government modelled on Washington. Kefauver declared that U.S. submission to these faltering (and predominantly socialist) nations would be both high diplomacy and high "democracy."

When the resolution shrivelled up in committee, Estes reintroduced it, January 15, 1951, and made a nationwide speech-making tour to plug the program. Kefauver urged the puzzled Lions Club of Portland, Oregon to go out and stir up "grass roots" support for "Atlantic Union." In the more congenial East, he warned a meeting of bankers that a super-state was needed to provide "central authority for . . . quick and united action." (He was followed by a banker who lashed out at over-centralized authority over credit in the United States.)

When his talkathon began to bog down, Estes resorted to scare psychology. He told the Atlantic Union Committee Dinner in the Waldorf Astoria, March 13, 1951, that World War III would come *within four months* if the United States did not immediately accept his super-state. He added that the "free nations" would lose that war, because without a super government they would be hopelessly divided. "Unless the democracies join in a union strong enough decisively to deter Communist action," Estes warned, "there will be another war. Such a war could come as early as next summer. We have, then, a limited time, four months perhaps, in which to stave off war."

Ike's Speech Writer: Many GOP delegates — perhaps a majority — are worried about the leftward direction of the Administration, according to several delegates who made an informal canvass on the subject.

They found the disturbed reaction to be pronounced among delegates who had read *A Republican Looks at His Party*, a book which Eisenhower has highly recommended as an expression of his own viewpoint.

The book was written by Arthur Larson, former Dean of Law at Pittsburgh University, now Undersecretary of Labor and the President's No. 2 speech writer.

Larson's pro-New Dealish views were expressed in his "Meet the Press" interview on August 26. Asked if he considered Dean Acheson "a moderate and a conservative," he replied in the affirmative.

Asked whether he "counted Stevenson as a member of the authentic American center" (where he placed Ike), Larson replied: "Oh, very definitely. As a matter of fact on 'Meet the Press' last February or something like that, Governor Stevenson was asked point blank what there was, if anything, in Eisenhower's 1956 State of the Union address he objected to; he was asked three times and he replied that he couldn't find a single thing. . . . I think this is going to be, if it remains on a high plane, a conspicuous example of me-too."

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Larson was asked about right-to-work laws.

Question: "How do you feel about the right of the union to force an individual to join a union in order to work?"

Answer: "I think it's an expression of freedom of contract. If the union and employer, exercising ordinary free contract, arrive at this kind of contract, I don't think the Government should interfere with it."

Question: "What about the individual? Do you think an individual ought to be forced to join a union if he doesn't want to join a union, if there's a union shop? That's what it's all about."

Answer: "That's a case of the individual, as so often happens in our lives, having to conform with the will of the majority."

Conformity to the will of the majority, said one delegate who read the book, is contrary to Larson's statement in his book: "The individual person is the preeminent object of all our political arrangements."

Keep Stassen Happy — Or Else! When it was obvious — several days before the opening of the GOP convention—that Stassen's dump-Nixon move was a flop, columnists rushed to predict that he would quickly be eased out of his place in the President's inner circle. Many of those prophets are not so sure now.

Arthur Krock reported (apparently from a personal conversation with Stassen):

"He [Stassen] has kept a detailed log of his conversations with those shadowy Republican figures who spurred him on in his effort and have stayed underground throughout Stassen's travail. In his log are set down their names and the times, places and substances of conversations with them which convinced him he would succeed in a project that was plainly stillborn. When the 'historians' get hold of this material, an extraordinary chapter of secret political intrigue could be the product."

Hardly anyone in Washington doubts that Sherman Adams was one of the important figures in that intrigue.

Obviously, the influence of all the participants in the plot will be exerted to keep Harold happy. Otherwise — it is believed — the press rather than the "historians" might get a premature glimpse of the Stassen diary.

Ike's Health: Among doctors in the District of Columbia, there are reports that the President will again go under the knife after the election. The June surgery to remedy his ileitis merely "bypassed" the diseased portion of the intestine and the doctors want to complete the operation. Medical men here say the President is making such a successful recovery (reflected in his fine appearance at the San Francisco Convention) that he will be quite fit for this minor but necessary operation in November.

AFL-CIO Feuds: The decision of the 28-member Executive Council of the AFL-CIO, to recommend endorsement of the Stevenson-Kefauver Democratic presidential ticket, represents a victory for Walter Reuther and his former colleagues of the CIO over George Meany and the more conservative faction of the old AFL.

The battle within the Council was not over Stevenson vs. Eisenhower, since a substantial majority obviously favored the former. It was a question of Reuther's insistence that the merged house of organized labor jump into the political fray with full force, against Meany's plea that it revert to Gompers-like aloofness rather than back a probable loser.

Observers feel that the real significance of the Council action lies in the fact that it is the first time Reuther (who was instrumental in winning the Democratic nomination for Stevenson at Chicago) has forced a showdown with Meany. They speculate that it may mark the end of the uneasy truce which rang down the curtain on earlier tentative conflicts between the two powers of the labor union movement, and that further exercise of Reuther's union-politics weight can be anticipated.

There were two votes to wind up nearly five hours of acrimonious debate within the Executive Council. On the first (on the question of whether there should be an endorsement) the count was 14 to 8 in favor of endorsing Stevenson, with two abstentions and four absentees; on the second, whether to back Stevenson, 17 to 5. The non-voters on both occa-

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sions were Meany and William Schnitzler, secretary-treasurer of the pre-merger AFL and now of the merged organization, who supported Meany straight down the line.

The technical result of the vote was to summon a special meeting of the AFL-CIO 140-member General Board to meet in Chicago, September 12, to go through the motions of formally endorsing the Democratic ticket. Meany conceded to newsmen that the action cannot control the votes of members but said his colleagues hope it will influence some.

Reuther was supported by such former CIO leaders as David MacDonald of the Steel Workers and Jim Carey of the Electrical Workers. Among the few vocal supporters of the GOP ticket were presidents Dave Beck of the huge Teamsters Union and Maurice Hutcheson of the Carpenters.

Lawyers Convention: The American Bar Association declared its unswerving support of the American free enterprise system, at its 79th annual meeting held last week in Dallas, and warned against the forces that seek to destroy it from within.

Texas' Governor Allan Shivers keynoted the meeting with an attack on the increasing centralization of power in Washington through "welfare" measures. He welcomed the Bar to Texas as a bastion of the Tenth Amendment, which reserves to the states and the people all powers not specifically given to the Federal Government by the Constitution. Shivers' warning was repeated by E. Smythe Gambrell, the Bar Association's retiring president.

Edwin O. Cartwright, a partner in Merrill Lynch, declared on the second day of the conference that widespread ownership in American business "hurls the lie at those who preach doctrines inimical to our free enterprise system." Cartwright cited the fact that over ten million people own shares in American businesses, while more than one hundred million are indirect owners through insurance companies, banks, and other savings institutions.

Support For Andrews: In Chicago early this week, the conservative "For America" group called for a "draft" of former Director of Internal Revenue T. Coleman Andrews. Dan Smoot, "For America" co-chairman, announced that the organization had named former Republican Congressman Thomas H. Werdel as a desirable running mate for Andrews. Werdel opposed the renomination of "liberal" Governor Earl Warren in the 1952 California primary.

Dean Clarence Manion, who with Smoot heads up "For America," emphasized that the Andrews "draft" was not a "new party" movement, but an attempt to place independent electors on the state ballots.

The Constitution Party of Texas, meeting this week in Fort Worth, also urged a "draft" of Andrews, whose opposition to the income tax has made him a symbol, in conservative eyes, of opposition to the encroachments of the Federal Government.

Between Covers: Recommended articles in the September *American Mercury* — "Selling Presidents Like Soap," by J. J. Seldon; "Billions for Blunders," by Spruille Braden; "The Supreme Court Turns Left," by Russell Turner; and, "San Francisco's Finest Food," by Eugene W. Castle.

● Ezra Taft Benson's new book, *The Farmer at the Crossroads*, will be published by Devin-Adair in late September. Secretary of Agriculture Benson says the farmer must soon make a clear choice as to whether he wishes to be collectivised or accept the fluctuation of the free market.

Letter from ALBERT H. BOSCH, Member of Congress (New York): "It has been my pleasure to receive HUMAN EVENTS during the past four years as a member of Congress. I have found HUMAN EVENTS to be a constructive, informative and intelligent review of important domestic and foreign issues. It has always endeavored to speak with the best interests of America as its deepest consideration."

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Article Section

DR. DO-GOOD'S WONDER REMEDIES

The Problem of U. S. Taxation and Spending

By PAUL JONES

"LET US ASSUME," said my friend, "that twenty years ago, in 1936, you went to a political scientist in active practice and asked him to write a prescription for a better America. And suppose he took out his pad and put down a list of recommendations, as follows:

"1. — Peacetime conscription, with two years military service.

"2. — Federal budgets over $65,000,000,000 a year, eating up better than one-fifth of our gross national income.

"3. — Personal income tax rates beginning at twenty per cent, even for citizens making the minimum wage. Exemptions for married couples to be reduced from $2500 to $1200, and for individuals from $1000 to $600. Collection of these exorbitant levies to be made by a payroll checkoff, with no option by either worker or employer.

"4. — An immensely increased Federal bureaucracy, to resist fiercely any reduction of the ordinary costs of Government and any diminution of its powers.

"5. — The application of constant Government-subsidized propaganda, labeling as 'antiquated' or 'outmoded' all township, county, state or school district agencies which are close to the people, and identifying as 'modern' or 'advanced' or 'liberal' the operations of remote, impersonal, centralized power.

"What would you have thought if Dr. Do-good — your political specialist — had given you such a prescription in 1936?"

"I should have set him down as a quack, if not a loony."

"Precisely. Yet those are the medicines you are taking now, the compound described so glowingly as the American Way of Life. They do not have to kneel on our chests and hold our noses to make us swallow it. Apparently, we have come to like it."

"Some of us object," I said. "A few mossbacks without vision. One Great Liberal has described the dissenters as people who have to be carried, kicking and screaming, into the Twentieth Century."

"But why should not any sane man struggle and holler blue murder, when he is being forced into a lunatic asylum? The fact is, the people are being framed, much as crooked executors sometimes have a troublesome heir put away in a strait jacket."

"Surely that's a little strong," I said. "These things often come about by accident or through ignorance."

"I cannot admit a plea of ignorance," he said. "For 20 years, Ph.D.'s in Washington have been thicker than blackberries."

"It is strange," I admitted. "You cannot help noticing that it is precisely the 'intellectuals' and the 'liberals' who defend most vigorously the present trend. Yet they must have read the big books. Have they forgotten everything they were supposed to learn from Mommsen

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and Gibbon and Sismondi? In school, they used to teach us that empires and republics declined for known reasons: excessive taxation, overcentralized administration, absentee landlords, and so on. Have they repealed the lessons of human experience?"

"I can only suppose," said my friend, "that our rulers are unable to reason in that primitive fashion which consists in matching up theory and reality. There is no essential difference between rapacious tax-gatherers, whether they come from twentieth-century Washington or third-century Rome. It is true that modern transportation will take a publican to the shores of the Missouri in four hours, whereas his opposite number in ancient times took four days, using relays of fast postal horses, to get to the Danube. But that is a trifling difference. Rome, too, brought all sorts of beneficent public works to the provinces: paved roads, aqueducts, harbors, bridges, sports arenas, theaters, better schools, and so on. But at a high price, as we know, including eventual collapse."

"Have you no remedy to suggest?" I inquired.

"IT MIGHT HELP," he said, "to reduce the lessons of political experience to a handy pocket form, for ready consultation. What I have in mind is a reference manual, which would list all governmental remedies, just as drugs are identified in a *Materia Medica.*

"The name of a political measure (and there are no really new ones, just new trade marks) would in each case be followed by an accurate description of its effects and side-effects, when its use is indicated by plausible symptoms and when it is counterindicated. Some, of course, would be marked with the skull-and-bones of a poison bottle."

"Would it be a popular book?"

"Probably not. My hope is that it would reach our statesmen and legislators, who might consult it before writing out any more of the frightful prescriptions they have imposed on us. They might even take us off some political drugs, before it is too late.

"As things stand, their nostrums would have them stricken from the register for malpractice, if they were anything but physicians to the body politic. Many of our laws, in the medical field, would correspond to the compounds of an illiterate yarb doctor, as made up by an inebriated pharmacist."

"You are hard upon our practitioners of statecraft."

"No harder than they are on me, I assure you. I am only returning the blow."

"But would they read your *Materia Politica,* if it were available?"

"Perhaps not. Why should they? They are well aware of anything my researches might turn up, and probably a good deal more. Many of them are fellows of immense capacity and considerable learning. That makes their political malpractice all the more depressing.

"In private life, it is common enough for reputable physicians to sooth a jittery patient with sugar tablets, bread pills, blank hypodermics and other innocuous placebos. The situation is quite different with our political specialists. They do not hesitate to dose us with a mixture of strychnine, prussic acid and bichloride of mercury, under pretense of administering light sedation or a blood-building tonic.

"At best, they stir up panaceas which combine opposites in adroit confusion, like the farm bills of the present session. Something to

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bring on a fever is compounded in the same draught with something to reduce a fever. For example, I note that the city of New York (not to mention Philadelphia and other urban centers) continues rent control year after year. At the same time, they complain of a shortage of rental housing. The last I heard, Mayor Wagner was pointing urgently to the plight of citizens in the $6,000 to $10,000 a year brackets. It seems there is a crying need for subsidized housing in the middle-income range. If so, it is an artificial need, created by controls and savage taxation.

"The history of controls indicates that their use is justified only during brief periods of extreme peril. Otherwise, they continue and increase the shortages they are supposed to remedy. That effect ought to be as well known as the effect of opium or quinine. And what political principle can justify the segregation of private property in real estate from other kinds of private property, except in the direst emergency, when all private property may be affected?"

"I am sorry," I said, "but I must interrupt you there. I am afraid you are talking about principles, and principles are old hat. Even to mention a principle stamps you as a reactionary."

"That is true," he said. "It is another bad symptom of our times that those who venture to uphold the Bricker amendment or to criticize the philosophy of Supreme Court decisions have been denounced as little better than Fascists. Yet the propriety of opinions based on sociology surveys or law-school treatises rather than the Constitution and the plain intent of Congress needs sober examination.

"The Bricker amendment poses the same question and offers the same chance for a debate on principles as that resolution laid before the House of Commons in the reign of George III: 'Resolved, that the power of the Executive has increased, is increasing and ought to be diminished.'

"Does anybody doubt the fact? Consider how many things are now either compulsory or illegal which were matters of free choice twenty years ago. Old age insurance, the withholding tax, fair employment practice laws, enforced unionism, peacetime conscription — all these have contracted that open strip between the mandatory and the illegal in which the individual may move freely.

"The docility with which we have accepted preposterous levels of taxation on the ordinary worker's income is extraordinary. More and more we are losing control over our own earnings. If the power to tax is the power to destroy, as it certainly is, then what we are witnessing, passively, is the destruction of our freedom.

"As a man in the middle-income bracket, I tremble when I hear the do-gooders express concern for my welfare. Their policies of high taxation and inflationary finance have already made it at least twice as difficult to put a son or daughter through college as it was in 1936.

"Hence, you now read a great deal of pious gaff about the necessity for federally subsidized scholarships, a necessity largely created by the very people who advocate the remedy. It is much as if the Government ordained that every fourth man should have his leg cut off, and then discovered that we faced a sudden need for artificial legs.

"That is, they appropriate the citizen's margin of possible savings and are then astonished to find that he has trouble financing the private education of his children. Or are they so aston-

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ished? Isn't their real aim to force everything into the public domain?

"As for accumulating the money for a down payment on a house, the thing is almost impossible for a salaried man with a family who is not a World War II veteran. That, I suppose, is why you now read of serious proposals for 75 or 100 year mortgages, with virtually nothing down."

"YOU SEEM," I observed, "to be obsessed with money."

"And for a good reason," he said. "Of the five points I mentioned at the beginning of this conversation, four would be radically improved by reversing the present fatuous faith in unlimited spending. Mr. Hoover's Commission has given us detailed plans for saving better than $7,000,000,000 a year on the ordinary expenses of Government. Those recommendations can be adopted by Congress, with such changes or additions as a searching debate may inspire.

"Foreign aid can be cut to include only positive economic and military aid for positive allies. If the budget is trimmed down by a total of $10,000,000,000, the bureaucracy and its influence must dwindle. Naturally, that would take in a large proportion of propagandists for big Government and big spending. Income tax rates could be reduced on all private earnings, whether large or small. Of the five points, only the draft would remain. It may be that, in the present state of world affairs, we would be well advised to continue the training of soldiers and the buildup of reserves. It might be in order, however, to inquire why West Germany believes it can turn the trick in 18 months, while our own Pentagon clings to 24 months. What is sacred about the two-year span? I should like to see Congress debate the point, at least."

"You understand, of course," I said, "that your questioning of all-out foreign aid puts you beyond the pale?"

"I am aware of that," he said. "But all the evidence shows that our diligent labors in the foreign field have made us cordially disliked. Furthermore, reliable agents in touch with grass roots public opinion in the United States report that the majority of voters see no sense whatever in our secular missionary work.

"You can understand the languid response of foreigners to our impassioned advances. To put it bluntly, we have assumed the role of an international busybody, and they are tired of listening to us, even though we try to bribe their attention. Enough is enough. Let the blameless Hindu contemplate his navel in peace, until such time as the Red armies cross the Himalayas. On our side, let us relax and keep our powder dry. If America has a global mission, it is surely not to make a career of unpopularity through officious meddling, at the cost of billions of dollars."

"You sound terribly selfish."

"Not at all. I am merely applying to our own affairs, and specifically to mine, the watchword of the do-gooders — enlightened self-interest."

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Paul Jones has been an editorial writer for the Philadelphia *Evening Bulletin* for the past dozen years. He has contributed often to HUMAN EVENTS, his last article being "Towards a Frozen Economy: The Guaranteed Annual Wage," on April 30, 1955.

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